c: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,* (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

352 utensils pertaining to the other room include three tables of varying form and size. One of these, about 60 cm. high, is called *akhintel*,[23] and serves as a support for the metate (*chá*). Another smaller table (*matzamaite*) has three legs and is circular in form, it is used in making tortillas. The third table (*ucbalté*), also small but quadrangular, is used in serving food. Three benches of hollow logs
415 (*tzantel*) and small chairs (*taburetes*) serve as seats. Deep baskets and gasoline
251 boxes are used for holding clothes. Hanging from the roof is always to be seen a disk made of vines (*likin-nab*). This is used to keep comestibles from the rats. The other implements are the griddle, pots, and other vessels of clay, and calabashes and gourds in various forms and dimensions.

• 343 Besides the fowl pen (*na-mut*) and the pigpen (*na-chitán*) it is common to
[417] see near the house the temazcal, or steam bath (*pus*). It is made of clay and irregularly shaped stones; it is rectangular with a small door in front and a ventilator in the rear. It is usual to cover it with a small shelter of straw. The use of the temazcal
[184] is common in the highlands. It is almost not to be found from Ococingo northward.

29 Each village has its own costume; however, local variations conform to a
184 certain pattern which changes according to the altitudes and climate. Thus, in the region of Los Altos the usual pattern of dress is the following: for men, short cotton trousers (*uex*)[24] and cotton shirt (*kú*) reaching to the knees, a sash (*chukichut*) of wool or cotton and in most cases red in color, a poncho (*tzotz*) made of wool and in most cases dark grey in color, a handkerchief (*chuhkil*), a straw hat (*pixol*), and leather sandals (*xanab*); women wear a white blouse (*ku*) and a blue shirt (*tzequel*), both made either of wool or of cotton, and a red woolen sash (*chukichut*). Some women in going out-of-doors add a woolen *rebozo*. Women use also a cotton cloth (*tzitz-cal*) to carry small children. They wear no footgear.

In the tierra caliente the dress of the women is almost the same except that it is cleaner. On the other hand that of the men, although equally clean, presents marked differences: the trousers are longer and the shirt shorter, coming to resemble an open blouse or *guayabera*. The sash and the poncho cease to be indispensable
[177] garments. It is in this region that there is most use of trousers and shirt in European style.

551 In Tenejapa, Starr found that the Indians had Tzeltal surnames. He says,
582 "We feel sure that these are *not* nicknames, but the old family names still pre-
114 served."[25] He does not give examples, and says nothing about any relation between these name-groups and marriage. Blom and LaFarge make no note of such names, and say "there are no formal restrictions on marriage."[26]

582 Villa found Indian surnames present in Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Oxchuc,
551 and was told that marriage is not allowed, or is at least strongly discouraged, between persons of the same Indian surname. In Chanal an informant indicated that such

[187]

[23] The names of these objects vary from one village to another; those which are described here were obtained in Chanal.

[24] The names of some of these garments vary likewise from one village to another; here Villa gives names used in Chanal.

[25] Starr, 1902, p. 73.

[26] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 359.

778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their offspring. The habitations include a hut, 342 343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus [417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. 343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom 417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocusingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

CP 205-B]

342 [354] 342 184 lages of the lowlands where the houses have small windows, which improve ventilation and illumination slightly. In places like Chanal, where there is abundant lumber, the sides of the houses are built with wooden boards set vertically. The largest and best-built houses are in Tenejapa center.

Generally, the hut is divided into two rooms: the front is parlor and kitchen, the rear is bedroom. In Bachajon the rear room serves as bedroom and kitchen, the front room for sewing and grinding and the reception of visitors. In Amatenango del Valle the front of the house is open and used as a porch for visits. Ceramic work is also performed here. In one room of the house a bin of wood or reeds stores corn. Sometimes, small structures which serve as granaries are built inside the hut.

[574] [323] [251] [343]

343 515 Among the auxiliary structures outside is the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Not every hut has a *pus* since one is enough to attend the needs of several neighboring families. The *pus* is a small room 1.5 m. high by 2 m. on each side, built of stones and clay. The roof is flat. Inside a hollow forms a hearth for heating stones. Water thrown on these red-hot stones produces the necessary steam. On the floor are boards on which people lie while taking the bath. Among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil the *pus* is not only for cleanliness but also for the cure of certain diseases and to strengthen women after childbirth. Sweat baths are more commonly taken in Tierra Fria than in Tierra Caliente.

[184] [759] [846]

417 The other structures near the hut are the chickencoop and the hogpen.

352 Furniture is limited to essential items. In the kitchen are the three hearth stones, the comal (*samet*), the grinding stone (*chá*), a bench or strong table to hold the metate (*ah-ken*), one or two small tables (*matz-malté* or *vebalté*) 25–39 cm. high and 30–40 cm. in diameter, and small benches 15–20 cm. high made of scooped-out tree trunks (*tzanté*). Kitchen equipment includes earthenware (pans, pitchers, and jars) and

415

[P. 209-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivaca

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

• 343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

[291]

FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common [135] forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum*, ("bees-wax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency.

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ya pas ŏcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivacá. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the

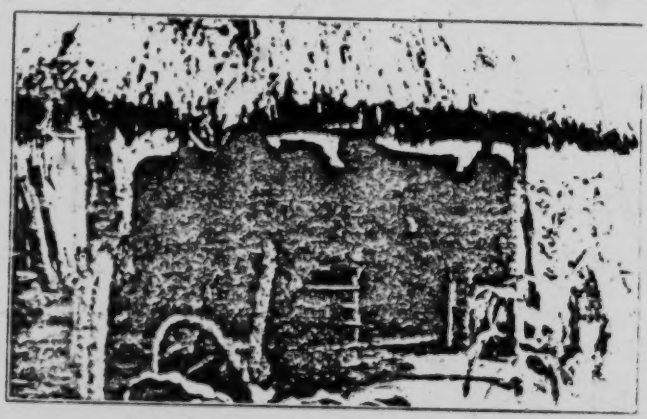

Fig. 294—Tenango, Chis. Close-up of Sweat House.

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1987) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

342 177 435 [492] construction used thatch or palm leaves carried from hot country. These cost only the price of renting a horse, if it was necessary, for transportation. Roofs made of these materials have to be replaced every seven or eight years. Each rethatching requires three days' work with four or five helpers, and the houseowner must provide a meal for them and their families. He spends about 25 pesos for meat and uses two or three liters of corn; the total cost is about 75 pesos. Another kind of roof is made of wooden shingles bought in the neighboring town. These are fixed to the housetops with wooden pegs, and the total cost is about 200 pesos. This lasts ten or twelve years with replacement of individual shingles. Tile roofs have the highest initial cost, 800 pesos, but the lowest maintenance in labor.

342 435

TABLE 13. Construction Costs for House, 1965

	Cost (pesos)
Supplies	
Roof tiles (1,000)	800
Posts and poles	*
Planks	40
Door	100
Window frame	30
Services	
Transportation of tiles	30
Transportation of posts and poles	206
Carpenter	50
Food for helpers	75
TOTAL	1,331

* Obtained free from communal woods.

342 House walls are preferably made of mud mixed with lime poured into an interlacing of cane poles set between the house posts and tied with a handmade fiber rope. Another temporary type of construction, which does not offer as good insulation, is made of board planks. Sweatbaths are 343 made by digging out a floor about 2.5 meters square, raising stones in an oval shape over this, and plastering them with mud. The I.N.I. tried to introduce latrines, but no more than a half dozen of the cement toilet seats they gave away as demonstrators were put into use. Latrines are considered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces.

[514] [647] [177] [231]

7: Nash E-6 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

Table 14. Types of House Construction

	1958*		1964†	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

351 592 571 [578] When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios, the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication (Nash, J: 1959).

351 592 [343] [342] Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naic) where animals are tied when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others [241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated. [415] [252] [393] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the place for washing the nixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas), the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imitate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 592 The building of a new house is an important social event

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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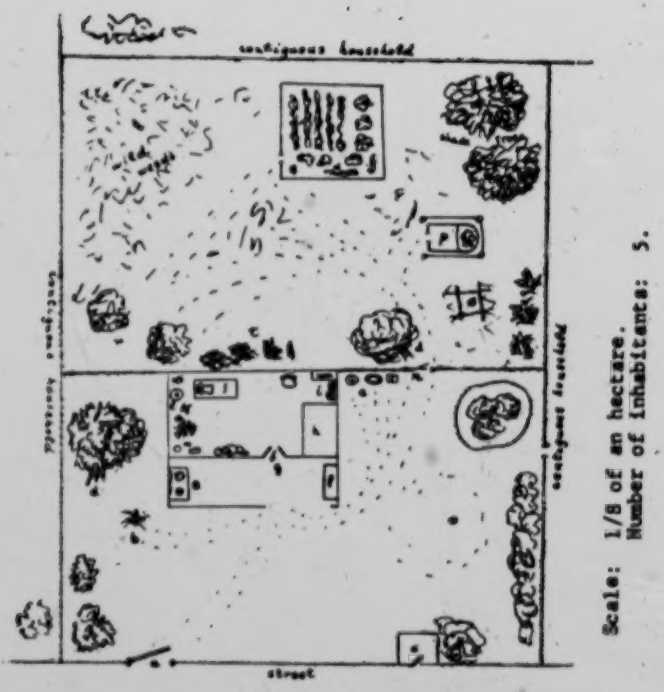

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184
342
343

	Number - Per Cent
Walls made of mud	93-77
wood planks (tejamanil)	11-9
palm	9-7
mud and wood	3-2.5
cane and palm	1-1.1
cane	2-2.3
mud and palm	1-1.1

Steam bath--20.
Of 121 buildings, 25 were painted white.

Building with corridor	65-80
Building without corridor	16-20
Kitchen with corridor	7-23
Kitchen without corridor	24-77

Households with more than two buildings distributed as follows: 15-22

unfinished new houses	4
granaries	6
saint's houses	2
storage room for pots	1
bedroom	1
empty	1

Roofs made of material other than palm (tile)--4
Pig pens--in all houses in sample
Chicken coops--46
Forty-five per cent of households have the kitchen built separate from the main building

Fig. 12.--House types in Aguacatenango